

Conflict, Culture and Modernity: Hybridizing Traditional and Western Models of Peace-Building in Africa



Barry Akila Katu

Abstract

This paper begins with a world-view definition of conflict resolution contextualized in the African setting. It argues that societies see conflict differently and, therefore, they innovate in their ways on how to resolve conflicts. Though there is no single definition of indigenous knowledge, the term has to do with people and what they know and do. This paper insists on the need for indigenous knowledge as an integral instrument for conflict resolution and peace-building. It gives some examples of the Indigenous methods for dispute resolution as practiced by some African societies. It points out that the many ethnic groups in Africa have evolved devices of resolving societal conflicts, but concludes that colonial and post-colonial structures have affected the traditional institutions. Hence, there is need for reviving and mixing traditional and modern systems for conflict resolution.

Keywords: Conflict Resolution, Indigenous Knowledge, Western, Models, Africa

Introduction

Guided efforts to resolve conflict in Africa through modern and perceptibly foreign methods are often faced with defects, hence, the combatants are sometimes not willing, or unable to, understand such initiatives. Often, such efforts are hinged on encouraging discussions between leaders of contending parties; the assumption is in most cases, that they are the representatives of the people. This is not necessarily correct or true as the antecedence of conflict in Africa shows, (Murithi, 2008: 16). If Africa is to succeed in its efforts to resolve current conflicts, there is a need to rediscover some of those values that enabled traditional Africa to resolve its conflicts and maintain social harmony (ECA,2007).

The issue of whether culture matters in conflict resolution has been a subject of debate. The argument is that human conflict and conflict resolution are cultural phenomena. For instance, it is said that conflicts are managed culturally based on a shared set of ideas and beliefs (Fry & Fry, 1997). In some societies, the stress is on punishing culprits, whereas, in many others, conflict resolution aims to restore

strained or broken relationships (Wehr & Lederach, 1991). Thus, it seems a difficult task attempting to resolve conflict within an African environment without due consideration of its culture. It raises the question; how do you apply the Western conflict resolution mechanism in Africa? Solomon (2000) opines that when it comes to attempting to promote an end to a conflict, it is necessary to have some knowledge of each party's culture. This determines what the parties genuinely want and intend to do vice versa.

More than that, Augsburger (1992) suggests that, in most conflict situations the West appears not to know the roles played by the others are crucial in the interaction. In the West and Europe conflict is seen as something common and useful. To them, everything is negotiable and it is better to resolve issues by confrontation and conciliation. After all, a conflict serves many purposes from redistributing opportunities to negotiation, releasing tensions, and restoration of relationships (Augsburger, 1992). Similarly, the absence of conflict in every marriage denotes a deviation (Deutsch, 1973). On the other hand, the traditional model contrasts each of these points raised by conventional models.

Conflict is not individualized but communalized and thus resolved at a third-party level. Conflict is embedded in the mores and customs of the society upon which resolutions are prescribed. Moreover, traditional approaches usually examine problems as a whole-including their inter-linkages and complexities (Grenier, 1998). The failure to resolve most conflicts in Africa likely has to do with this lack of concern for culture. Researches indicate that most Peace Agreements in Africa do not last (Uppsala Peace Agreements in Africa, 1997). This, in addition to the search for appropriate indigenous development mechanisms, has led to increased calls for the harnessing of indigenous knowledge for solutions to such teething problems in developing countries. Traditional institutions also play the role of managing land tenure, and conflict resolution and are custodians of communities' culture and rituals (Ensminger in Nye & Droback, 1999). Contrasting views argue that indigenous knowledge should not be considered at all because it represents primitive (archaic) and wild (savage) societies' activities (Semali & Kinchoe, 1992)

World Views of Conflict and Conflict Resolution

The term conflict is variously defined depending on the angle of perception. Scholars see conflict in economic terms and thus link it to a fact that suggests insufficiency or a discordant between two choices or goals of two or more parties. Still, it can be defined as the creation of inharmonious activities (Pandilla in Rupesinghe, 1992; Schmidt, 1993; Deutch, 1973). It has also been said that conflict is a cultural behaviour and, therefore, should not be judged helpful or undesirable; rather, aggression, rivalry and violence are inevitable because they are aspects of societal nature (Bonta, 1991).

Thus, Augsburger (1992) argues that because conflict is inevitable in human life, eliminating it is difficult and undesirable since it helps in innovation and positive change. Bonta (1991) however argues that such definitions do not get far. He defines conflict as "the incompatible needs, differing demands, contradictory wishes, opposing beliefs, diverging interests which produce interpersonal antagonism", sometimes leading to violence. He insists that conventional definitions would not be shared by some societies; (including most African societies). Though many would see conflict as a problem to them, they would not see its benefit.

From the foregoing, the approaches to conflict resolution mechanisms differ. In Western culture, conflict is inevitable and can only be managed through either political structures, armies, punishment or confrontation. Other cultures; including most African societies, use moderation, community elders (meetings), separation, humour (joking relationship) and avoidance, to resolve their disputes (Bonta, 1996).

What is Indigenous Knowledge?

In 1980, Brokensha et al. independently, to find an appropriate term that describes the dynamic achievement of any community to solve problems, coined the term 'Indigenous Knowledge' in place of 'tradition' (Waldron & Sui, 1999). More recently, the term Indigenous Knowledge has come to be seen as local knowledge associated with a given society. However, in terms of definition, there is no unanimity in the concept of Indigenous Knowledge though they overlap in many areas without any essential contradiction (World Bank Group, 2010).

Murithi (2008) begins by looking at the term indigenous. To him, it means something that is not only organic but innate to a given society and practiced year after year. To Warren (1991), indigenous knowledge is any knowledge that is "unique to a given culture or society" used for "local-level decision making in agriculture, health care, food preparation, education, natural resource management", involving other activities. For instance, it is said to form "the information base for the dynamic way in which people residing in an area have come to understand knowledge, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives (Flavier et al,1993; Semali & Kincheloe,1999).

Definitions such as these are quite vague than specific although one may be tempted to argue that some suggest referral to development issues. This has led to Horshenie's definition of *indigenous knowledge*. He maintains that there is a general semantic and a sense of practice and skills. Such practices should not be termed as 'knowledge' let alone indigenous, different from modern" knowledge. Rather, these practices include all kinds of beliefs, so it is more appropriate to use the term indigenous belief rather than indigenous knowledge. Horshemke (2004) argues that even justified beliefs cannot be termed knowledge. The term knowledge must be valid, reasonable and warranted. In the African context, there is a myriad of 'truths' which lead to relativism about epistemology and truth and an invalidation of universal truth. Horshemke goes further to terms as ignorance, Higgs' idea of an African knowledge(s) to provide a framework to South African communities to build their educational system. Horshemke foresees failure in Higgs's (2003: 37) jumping from an "African traditional world-view to an indigenous knowledge system."

Nevertheless, Higgs's (2003) argument simply means that there is an African identity, culture and epistemic identity and a distinctive African order of knowledge. Moreover, oral traditions play an active part in the African daily life. Thus, African traditional knowledge seeks to infuse the desired attitudes, disposition, skills and habits in children as embedded in the oral traditions and customs. Fafunwa (1974) adds that such an educated man was a person who was "...honest, respectable, skilled, cooperative and conformed to the social order".

Moreover, there is no absolute truth and globally uncontested fact. There is one outstanding truth that is securely positioned and found, rather, a variety of conflicting versions of a world in the making (Fafunwa, 1974). By this, the African man has his form of worldview and way of life; one that dwells on commonality, as the fabric of societal life (Higgs, 2003). Thus, (Stevenson, 1996) argues that traditional knowledge is specific and hinges on "shared experience, customs, values, traditions, subsistence life styles, social interactions, ideological orientations, and spiritual beliefs" (p. 28).

From the foregoing definitions in favour of indigenous knowledge, most of the authors have explained their perceptions relating to only some aspects of indigenous knowledge, and most of the authors have explained their perceptions relating to only some aspects of indigenous knowledge. However, Stevenson (1996) posits that although all aspects of indigenous knowledge are interconnected, it is crucial to understand the different conditions that provide such knowledge purpose and significance.

Although Stevenson's observation is revealing, the question is, what makes this knowledge 'indigenous' different from the euro-western knowledge? The contest is

that there are no absolute or universal criteria that can be used to distinguish between 'indigenous' and euro-western or scientific knowledge. Agrawal (2002) argues that simply referring to 'indigenous' knowledge as local, practical or traditional different from Western, logical or modern scientific knowledge, does not show the difference. It thus concludes that the end is clearly untenable once there is an attempt at drawing a strict line between 'indigenous' knowledge and euro-western knowledge.

Grenier (1998) however, contends that indigenous knowledge though based on oral accounts, is in the form of stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, dances, myths, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, local language...and animal breeds. More fundamentally, Heyd (1995) contends that Agrawal's argument is wrong in view of associating 'scientific' knowledge with 'Western' knowledge. Apart from the fact that other non-western regions of the world are also associated with science, in the West, much of common knowledge not linked to science is peculiar to them. No wonder Mbiti (1970) says that "whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole" (p. 108) society and vice versa.

How then does this show in conflict resolution? Implicit in Mbiti's assertions is this whole idea of 'carrying' one another's burden. Moreover, Grenier (1998) has opined that Indigenous Knowledge covers all aspects of life developed around men and women indigenous to a geographic area and can also encourage equity in a variety of cultural contexts (Selami & Kincheloe, 1999). Lending his voice to this, Murithi (2008: 17) observes that since there are peace processes that originate from among a community of people, it should at once reveal the value of such processes in encouraging order and stability. No wonder, Murithi (2008) opines that:

In Africa, attitudes, relations and traditions (ART) create a natural atmosphere conducive to conflict resolution and reconciliation. Those who understand African attitudes, relations and traditions become capable conflict resolvers and conciliators. The atmosphere created by ART is cooperative. Participants in a conflict are naturally ready or willing to talk, to negotiate. To refuse to negotiate is unnatural to African tradition. It is considered as being arrogant a behaviour that would displease not only the people but also the ancestral spirits and the gods... These dispositions are deeply ingrained in the African tradition. The purpose of marrying them with modern African or global values and coming up and challenges but also to be an active participant in the world community (p. 16).

In addition, he says for the fact that such indigenous processes have become generationally attitudinal, the principles and procedures they propose may not be strange to such communities.

From the foregoing, though the definitions and observations, whether referring to indigenous, local, cultural or traditional, all point to a people and their practices. With regard to conflict resolution, most scholars have used the term *cultural*, local or traditional methods (Avruch, 1998; Augsburg, 1992), in spite of various contestation of the term indigenous knowledge. Such differences might be the basis for the various definitions. Yet wisdom lays Socrates' famous saying "I know that I know nothing." In line with Socrates, Augsburg (1998) wrote that "in most conflict situations, we painfully are ignorant...of the roles played by others in the interaction" (p. 6). Karimi and Rabar (2004) have disclosed that Africa is endowed with local capacities to resolve conflicts and ensure reconciliation, despite the suppressive effect. They cite local structures and institutions, for instance, among the Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet, that can effectively deal with conflicts. The Pokot lapay is used to seek justice (for murder) in community, mutaat, muma (against theft) and kikeemat. Adultery is resolved by way of Amaa/nwata/ighaa o kikeemat at a kokwo (Council of Elders') meeting. Once the process is followed, depending on the nature of the conflict, the matter is resolved.

However, there is much debate as to whether institutions; supranational organizations and domestic institutions such as courts, can play significant roles in fostering reconciliation. Partly, this attributes to the nonexistence of designs within these political institutions that aim to promote reconciliation or build social trust. Whether it is possible to restructure these political and legal institutions, both locally and here is that, indigenous African institutions have in-built mechanisms for conflict times. This has reduced most African cultures towards the common denominator of legal social contracts (Augsburger, 1992).

Indigenous knowledge is "A body of knowledge built up by a group of people through generations of living in close contact with nature. It is usually a mistake to think that indigenous people are "old fashioned", 'backward', 'static' or 'unchanging'." Rather, they incorporate outside influence and inside innovations to meet new challenges. Broadly speaking, indigenous knowledge is now considered to be cultural knowledge, including all of the social, political, economic and spiritual aspects of a local way of life of a people.

Nevertheless, a student of multicultural conflict may argue is that the so-called primitive societies often have conflict solutions that are more effective in bonding adversaries and blending goals than the advanced societies. Moreover, they maintain them better than what is introduced or imported from outside. Since supplies (experts) can be costly, scarce and available only irregularly. Therefore, we should take the opportunity to breakthrough with cultural conflict resolution practices because wrong approaches or lack of proper and effective mechanisms sustain conflicts in African societies.

Contextual Framework

Culture is an essential part of conflict and conflict resolution. Culture is said to be like an underground river that runs through people's lives and relationships, giving them messages that shape their perceptions, attributes, judgments, and ideas of self and others. Though culture is that powerful, it exists but without one realising it, influencing conflict and attempts to resolve conflict in so slight, gradual or subtle ways as not perceivable, because culture arises in human relationships. Whether culture exists at all is a cultural question these views underscore the relevance of culture. LeBaron (2003) and Lederach (1995), separately, argue that culture matters.

According to Lederach, "constructivism as an approach is a useful theoretical lens in understanding the true nature of things such as collective violence. Social conflicts are rooted in the peoples' culture - their accumulated and shared knowledge and scheme of interactive process and response to social realities." Moreover, since culture is so closely related to our identities (who we think we are), and the ways we make meaning (what is important to us and how), it is always a factor in conflict. For instance, Africans believe strongly in the concept of 'communalism' hence the individual is not alone but under the cover of the community. The individual is an amulet system which is instrumental in linking someone to his or her environment in Africa.

Emphasis is placed on values which have to do with the group, but not at the expense of the recognised worth of the individual. These have been relegated in officialdom. A study by Afrobarometer in 2002 indicates that rural dwellers prefer community-based conflict resolution while urban dwellers are prone to turn to government. Persons who express religious identity tend to prefer religious leaders to resolve conflict. In almost all regions of Nigeria, they would prefer to enlist the assistance of vigilante groups instead of security personnel (Akinwale, 2010). These positions resonate with Lauer's (2007) call for refutation of the notion that '(t) the global arena is dominated by the popular conviction that Africans require foreign direction in the socio-economic management of their societies.

The relevance of the Blacks Theory of social control argues that at one point in time, nations adopted one primary form of conflict management and such strategy may affect such nations' subsequent rank and Thomas-Kilmann's model of conflict management than assertiveness in accommodation which entails partial management of violent but thereafter, this must give way to cooperativeness in conflict management. Both cooperativeness and assertiveness usually yield concessions and desirable outcomes in conflict management (Akinwale, 2010). The need for preventive diplomacy and a participatory approach to violent conflicts in Africa can be understood in these positions stated above (Lederach, 1995).

Arguments in favour of indigenous knowledge are unprecedented. Indigenous knowledge proponents argue its importance to multifaceted approaches to solving problems. Similarly, traditional approaches usually examine and solve conflicts in their entirety; together with their inter-linkages and complexities. The institution also serves as intermediary for continuity and stability in an era of great change by ensuring that the change occurs in an orderly and familiar manner. A typical African community is marked by its high value for solidarity and cooperation while conflict settlements are marked "talks" directed by the community with a few exceptions. Such practices are different from the national social contracts pattern of euro-western life, which is failing, to meet the justice and equal opportunity needs of all.

Furthermore, indigenous knowledge enables communities to do what they know best, achieve control over their lives and return law and order quickly into communities in conflicts. Similarly, it aids empowerment and justice in a diverse cultural context and promotes a sense of belonging. Additionally, indigenous knowledge is seen as a relevant alternative to collective wisdom now that existing external norms, values and laws are being called into question. Moreover, the traditional approaches are "now in greater demand, in the contemporary world, particularly in Africa". It has been argued that indigenous knowledge has the following advantages: ensures local ownership of peace processes, is cost-effective since external actors are not involved and emphasize sustained continuous peacemaking.

Similarly, unlike the Western method of conflict resolution, indigenous knowledge is all-inclusive, promotes community participation and seeks consensus to address the root causes of conflicts. Thus, a higher value is placed on the connection between mediation and reconciliation rather than looking at them as separate processes. Learning from traditional methods, by investigating first what local communities know and have,

can improve understanding of local conditions and provide a particular context for activities designed to help the communities. Adapting international practices to the local setting can help improve the impact and sustainability of development assistance. Sharing IK within and across communities can help enhance cross-cultural understanding and promote the cultural dimension of development. It is important, therefore, to look at some of the mechanisms used in conflict resolution, drawing from African experiences.

Conflict Resolution Using African Indigenous Knowledge

There are research findings on African approaches to conflict resolution. To demonstrate the uniqueness of traditional approaches to conflict resolution, healing and reconciliation rituals, some tribes in Nigeria, Ethiopia (conflict resolution), Uganda (reconciliation), Kenya and Tanzania, Rwanda and Southern African countries have been studied. In central, eastern and southern Africa, the Ubuntu conflict resolution system has been and is still being practiced among most ethnic groups. Through an inclusive community-wide conflict resolution and reconciliation forum, *lekgotla* (a council of elders or the king himself) intervenes, using the concept of ubuntu. This idea which pictures peacemaking is all-inclusive, reciprocal, and expresses a people's shared fate. Once a conflict is perceived to threaten community unity in Ubuntu societies, everyone is involved at each level of the conflict resolution.

The council of elders' role is to investigate all issues relating the conflict and to also advise the king. At such meetings, all members of the community are free to question victims of conflicts, culprits and witnesses and to advise the council on the possible ways forward. The council having listened to all views of those present, then advises the king on solutions that may promote peace and reconciliation between the parties in conflict based on the principles of Ubuntu. The objectives include preventing vendetta from developing and sustaining community cohesion is achieved. Murithi presents another form of traditional justice similar to the Ubuntu that resolves disputes and encourages reconciliation based on the concept of consensus. Just to all which must be resolved.

Thus, the council of elders listened to the disputants and views of the community members present and then to the chief(s) on what would reconcile the disputants and return the much-needed peace. Proponents of indigenous knowledge have presented another conflict resolution mechanism used by some groups in East Africa. The Karamoja (Karamoja) and Dodos of Uganda, Massai (Massai) of Kenya and Dinka and Nuer of Southern Sudan share an area called the Kidepo Valley, to water and graze their cows. Although the grazing fields and water ponds become most beneficial during the dry season they are also a sources of conflict, and cattle rustling, often triggering violent conflicts.

To communities in the Kidepo Valley, cows are regarded as assets - like money in the bank. Unfortunately, each community regards every cow in the world to be theirs by divine right; hence they must be retrieved wherever they are at all cost. However, once a rustling has been carried out by a group of men widely known as *mojirimot*, responses from the affected community/communities often lead to fighting. The proliferation of small arms has increased the rate of rustling. Interestingly, these communities are known to have settled their conflicts traditionally without any government or non-governmental organization's involvement. Conflict settlement often begins by identifying the root causes of the problem. Subsequently, meetings that may last between two to three days are then convened. Such meetings are usually deliberately held in some forests and the role of councils of elders, and opinion leaders, who are believed to have wisdom and experience in such matters, is imperative (Brock-Utne, 2001). Once admittance of wrong is made, and forgiveness is pronounced, the ritual of killing and sacrificing of a selected cow or goat, to cleanse the land of the evil, is carried out.

Another effective peacemaking mechanism used by communities in Kidepo Valley is the pronouncement of curses by elders. Once elders get fed up with the activities of any group of *mojirimots* who refuse to heed warnings, they pronounce a curse on them; what follows are mysterious deaths or extremely unpleasant events (Ofuho, 1999). Among Rwandees, is a conflict resolution method called *Gacaca*. *Gacaca* originates from Rwanda's national language, *Kinyarwanda*. It was established as a national traditional court in 2001 as a method of transitional justice designed to promote healing and moving on from the crisis under the leadership of elders called *Inyangamugayo* (BBC News, 2005). Elders and community consensus methods of traditional conflict resolution have also been reported among the Tiv of central Nigeria who uses the *jir* (dispute mediation session). The Tiv depended on "cultural norms, values, and communal moral conscience" to announce the verdict of a conflict (Malan, 1997). Similarly, the Na and Abala in Igboland, Nigeria use kola nuts and fresh palm fronds to negotiate and resolve conflict. Once one community offers these items to another community, they must be received and reciprocated. Arms are then laid down and negotiation begins in a neutral neighbouring community, using selected elders (Chimaraoke, 2002).

The pastoral society in Somalia has elaborate mechanisms of reconciliation and peace-building. Somali pastoral culture was the dominant political culture before independence. However, some Somali agro-pastoral and urban/coastal communities have cultural, linguistic and social features that are distinct from the northern pastoral society.

Criticisms

Despite praise for indigenous peacemaking processes, they are not without contrasting views. The patriarchal traditional system often silences the voices of women and youth with contrasting views (Molutsi, 2004). Moreover, masculinity is not required to justify its actions and is founded on a forceful “demand for consensus” rather than freely given consent (Mattes, 1997). After decades of colonial and post-colonial governments' manipulation, there are questions about what truly is traditional about indigenous institutions. Most times, state authorities have had influence in the selection processes; to have influence, they may be competing with local government officials for real power, especially in dispensing justice and community decisions (Logan, 2008).

It has also been argued that even where the application of traditional conflict resolution occurs, it is marked with fraud. For instance, Allen (2008) posits that local-level research revealed that the application of *mato oput* traditional justice among the Acholi in the wake of the crisis between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the International Criminal Court of Justice, was full of ambiguities and misrepresentation. First, the *timokeca* in Acholi has a range of meanings. Though it stands for amnesty yet to the Christians, it means turning the other cheek. Others see it as an incentive in the form of assistance to someone formerly kidnapped but being hosted in a home. Moreover, the ceremonies neither involved any commitment to pay compensation nor the drinking of a concoction made from a bitter root and a sacrificed sheep. The Madi, Langi, and Iteso tribes were, claimed to have questioned why they were left out of the ceremonies since they also suffered at the hands of the LRA.

Furthermore, a number of other limitations of indigenous knowledge have been outlined. First, it may be constrained by time as seeking consensus from parties in conflict can be endless if either or both parties decide not to consent to any consensus. Moreover, a peace process with a smaller number of disputants is likely to produce an agreed outcome and facilitate a trust relationship unlike when powerful actors are excluded from any agreed outcome. A further challenge for indigenous knowledge must also deal with the challenge of healing wounds among extinct families, apart from being unique, informal, communal, restorative, context-specific and diverse. (Tait, 2007; Zartman, 2000; Malan, 2013); Allen, 1999; Mutisi, 2009).

Where does this lead us? Have all these arguments nullified the relevance of the African Indigenous conflict resolution mechanism? Although the mere listing of unorganized rituals does not lead to codified practices, the formalization of some selected rituals in a pseudo-traditional system helps most communities. It must involve a systematic way of using IK as some activists in the newly created council of ‘traditional chiefs’ in northern Uganda are promoting such an agenda. However, years of colonialism have tempered with these processes and it is hard to turn the hands of the clock, but they can be revived with modification. With constant practice, they can affect ways of thinking.

Fortunately, the use of *ubuntu* in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation and the Rwandan *gacaca* traditional courts are examples to follow.

Conclusion

We have seen that there is no single definition of the term indigenous knowledge because it covers a range of areas. Unsurprisingly, there have been a number of misgivings as to what constitutes indigenous knowledge. They have suggested that it is irrelevant to discuss the term altogether. Yet, proponents argue that most peace initiatives in Africa are based on a Western perspective. They insist that indigenous knowledge is relevant in African conflict resolution mechanisms and examples include the *ubuntu* practice in east and Southern Africa.

Others include the *Gacaca* of courts of Rwanda, the *mato oput* of northern Uganda and the *jir* of the Tiv in central Nigeria, to mention but a few. Indigenous conflict resolution strengths lay in its inclusiveness, and consensus seeking for resolving conflict. Thus, if Africa is to succeed in its efforts to resolve or manage its current conflicts, it must revisit the past, rediscover its true self and bring out those values that enabled traditional Africa to resolve its conflicts and maintain social harmony. Yet, indigenous knowledge, as we saw, has very obvious limitations, which must be admitted. It was however argued that, in order for indigenous knowledge to be relevant, improvement by way of bridging the traditional and modern approaches may be required. The creation of the Panel of the Wise by the African Union is hinged on the pride of place elders have in conflict resolution.

References

- Afuho, C. H. (1999). Community conflict resolution and reconciliation in Kidepo practices of peacemaking.
Paper presented to the All-Africa Conference November 8th - 12th 1999 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Agrawal, A. (2002). Indigenous knowledge and the politics of classification, UNESCO. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Akinwale, A. A. (2010). Integrating the traditional and the modern conflict management strategies in Nigeria. In *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 10(3), 137.
- Allen, K. (1999). Negotiating health: The meanings and implications of 'building a healthy community' in Igloodik, Nunavut. Unpublished MA Thesis, McGill University, Montreal. 50.
- Allen, T. (2008). Ritual (ab)use? Problems with traditional justice in northern Uganda, in Wadell, N. & Clark, P.(eds.), *Courting conflict? Justice, peace and the ICC in Africa*. London: Royal African Society.
- Ausburger, D. W. (1992). *Conflict across cultures: Pathways and patterns*. Kentucky Westminister: John Krox Press.
- Avruch, P. (2009). The challenge of operationalizing key concepts in conflict resolution theory in international and sub-national conflicts. In Sandole, D.J.D.et al, *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution.*, Oxon: Routledge. BBC News. 2005-03-10.
- Bonta, B. D. (1996). Conflict resolution among peaceful societies: The culture of peacefulness, In *Journal of Peace Research*, 33(4).
- Borg. M. J. (1992). Conflict management in the modern world system. *Sociological Forum*,7(2).262
- Brock-Utne, B. (2001). Indigenous conflict resolution in Africa, a draft paper presented to the week-end seminar on the indigenous solutions to conflict held at the University of Oslo, Institute of Educational Research, February 23-24. 1-2.
- Chimaraoke, O. I. (2002). Participatory communal conflict resolution (PCCR) – A tale of two Nigerian local communities”, *PLA Notes*, 4.

- Deutch, M. (1973). "*The Resolution of Conflict*", New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ECA, (2007). Relevance of African traditional institutions of governance. Ethiopia: Economic Commission of Africa, August. 14.
- Ensminger, J. (1997). Changing property rights: Reconciling formal and informal international economics. *New York: Academic Press*, 165-106.
- Fafunwa, B. (1974). *A history of education in Nigeria*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Flavier, J. M. et al, (1993). *The regional program for the promotion of indigenous knowledge: Indigenous knowledge systems*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications. Fry, P. D. and Fry, C. B. (1997). Culture and conflict resolution models: Exploring alternatives to violence. In Fry, P. D., & Bjorkqvist, K. (eds.) *Cultural variation in conflict resolution: Alternatives to violence*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Publishers.
- Grenier, L. (1998). Working with indigenous knowledge: A Guide for Researchers.
- Heyd, T. (1995). Indigenous knowledge, emancipation and alienation. *Knowledge and Policy*, 8(1).
- Higgs, P. (2003). African Philosophy and Educational Transformation Discourse in South Africa, *Journal of Education*.
- Horshemke, K., (2004). Indigenous knowledge and misconceptions. *Journal of Education*, 32:35. Resolution Mechanisms- Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet, ITDG-EA.
- Lauer, H. (2007). Depreciating African political culture. In *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(2).288-307. Colorado: The Conflict Consortium, University of Colorado. Syracuse. New York: Syracuse University Press.

- Logan, C. (2002). Rebuilding Somali political systems: Growing new dissertation, Fletcher School, Tufts University, Medford, MA.
- Malan, J. (1997). Conflict resolution wisdom from Africa, in *ACCORD*, 11, 135
- Mattes, R. (1997). Building a democratic culture in traditional society. Paper Southern Africa, hosted by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and University of Transkei, Umtata, South Africa, 16-18 April.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1970). African religion and philosophy. London: Heinemann.
- Molutsi, P. (2004). Botswana: The path to democracy and development. In E. Gyimah-Boadi, (eds), *Democratic reform in Africa: The quality of progress*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Murithi, T. (2008). African indigenous and endogenous approaches to peace and conflict resolution. In Francis, D. J. (eds.) *Peace and conflict in Africa*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Mutisi, M. (2009). Gacaca courts in Rwanda: An endogenous approach to post-conflict justice and reconciliation. In *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*, 2(1).
- Pandilla, L. A. (1992). *Conflict resolution theory and its practice in Guatemala's governance*. New York: St. Martins.
- Schmidt, S. (1993). *World system impact on local patterns of conflict and violence: Case studies and cultural comparison*. Cologne: OMIMEE inter-cultural Publishers.
- Semali, M. L. and Kincheloe, J.L. (1999). *What is Indigenous Knowledge: Violence from the Academy*. USA: Taylor and Francis Inc.
- Solomon, R. H. (2000). Forward."In Avruch, K., *Culture and Conflict Resolution*.
- Stevenson, M. G. (1996), Indigenous knowledge in environmental assessment. *Artic*, 49(3), 281.

Tait, P. L. (2007). Systems of conflict resolution within first nation communities: Honoring the elders,

Honoring the knowledge. Research paper for The National Centre for First Nations Governance.

Warren, D. M. (1991). The role of indigenous knowledge in facilitating the agricultural extension process knowledge. A four-day paper at an International Workshop of Agricultural Knowledge Systems and the Role of Extension in Bad Boll, German from May 21-24.

Waldron, S. D. & Sui, D. Z. (1999). Integrating indigenous and GIS in land use suitability analysis.

<http://www.socsci.umn.edu/~longman/gisco99/now/waldron.htm>.3

Wehr, P., & Lederach, J.P. (1991). Mediating conflict in South Central America, *Journal of Peace Research*, 28, 85-98.

World Bank Group. Regions: Sub-Saharan Africa.

<http://www.worldbank.org/afr/ik/basic.htm>